

A Study of the Campeyya Jātaka, Including Remarks on the Text of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka

There is an obvious historical problem in the textual criticism of the Campeyya Jātaka (no. 506, Ja IV 454–68). Although it has been transmitted in forty-four gāthās, it is found in the Vīsati-nipāta, which indicates that the original version of the Jātaka comprised about twenty gāthās. This is clearly evident when it is compared with the other Jātakas of this nipāta.¹ This fact alone would be enough to show that the Jātaka has been revised and extended as it has been handed down. What follows is an attempt to trace the textual history of this nāga Jātaka, also taking into account the Mahāvastu version (Mvu II 181–88), although it

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Prof. Oskar von Hinüber (O.v.H.) not only offered valuable comments on an earlier version of this essay, but was also kind enough to make two Thai manuscripts available to me. For this I am most grateful to him and to the Social Research Institute of the University of Chiang Mai. I would also like to thank my friend Dr Chlodwig H. Werba (Ch.W.) for all his advice and suggestions for improvement. In the following, arabic numerals refer to the gāthās of the Campeyya Jātaka according to the Fausbøll edition, roman numerals to those gāthās which according to our investigation belong to the original version of the Campeyya Jātaka.

¹These are composed of between twenty-four and thirty-one gāthās. The Sivi Jātaka has thirty-one gāthās (twenty-three ślokas and eight triṣṭubh/jagatī). Alsdorf, who has worked on this Jātaka, came to the conclusion that “there are *two* treatments of this popular narrative: one in tr./jag. and one in ślokas, and the editors of the Jātaka Book — or even an earlier poet — combined these two versions into *one*” (Alsdorf 1968b, p. 478 (= *Kl. Sch.* p. 364)). Apart from this Jātaka, only the Mahāpalobhana Jātaka (no. 507) has more than twenty-nine gāthās (thirty gāthās). But there, several gāthās give the impression of being later additions (see gāthās 1–4 and 6), so that one can start with the assumption that originally this Jātaka was also correctly incorporated into the Vīsati Nipāta.

is quite corrupt and comprises forty-six verses.² For this the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka (Ja V 161–77),³ which has various gāthās in common with the Campeyya Jātaka,⁴ will frequently be considered. The prose text (Ja IV.456.27f.) explicitly refers to it,⁵ which should be particularly interesting for the history of the text.

The content of the Campeyya Jātaka tale is briefly as follows:⁶ A nāga [named Campeyya, who has left his underwater dwelling in order to keep the uposatha on a termite mound] allows himself to be caught [by a snake charmer (*ahiguṇṭhika*)] without any resistance, in order not to break his uposatha vow. [By means of sorcery, the snake charmer makes the nāga perform tricks in front of paying spectators. At first he had intended to let the nāga go free as soon as he earned 1,000 pieces of gold in this way. But instead, tempted by the possibility of making easy money, he goes to Benares to the court of King Uggasena. Sumanā, the wife of the nāga, is very worried by the lengthy absence of her husband. When she finds out that the nāga has been captured by a snake charmer,

²The following twenty-two verses (gāthās of the Jātaka numbered according to Fausbøll) correspond as follows: Ja gāthā 1 = Mvu II 181.5*-8*; 2 = 181.10*-11*; 3 = 181.13*-16*; 4 = 181.18*-21*; 5 b/d = 182.9*/6*; 6 = 182.1*-4*; 7ab = 182.11*-12*; 8 = 183.12*-13*; 9 = 183.2*-5*; 10 = 183.7*-10*; 11/12ab = 183.15*-17*; 13ab = 183.19*-20*; 14 = 184.1*-3*; 15a = 184.18*; 15d = 185.9*; 16 = 185.3*-6*; 19ab = 184.15*-16*; 19cd ≠ 184.6*-8*; 20ab = 184.10*-11*; 20d = 184.13* (185.2*); 23 = 185.11*-14*; 24 = 186.1*-4*; 30f = 187.23*; 31ac = 187.20*-21*; 36cd = 188.1*-2*; 39 = 188.2*-5*; 43 = 187.11*-14*.

³A list of suggestions for correction of the text of this Jātaka, which is corrupt in many places, is printed in an appendix to this article.

⁴Noted by Alsdorf 1977, p. 30, n. 21 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 790 n. 21).

⁵It also refers to the Bhūridatta Jātaka, with which the Campeyya Jātaka has g. 37a (= Ja VI 171.3*) and g. 31a (= Ja VI 171.7*) in common. That this is worthy of note is also shown by the Culladhammapāla Jātaka (Ja III 177–82), which is a “clumsy, coarse imitation of the Kṣāntivādi (named in the prose story)” (Alsdorf 1968a, p. 266).

⁶Parts of the story which come from the prose text are set in square brackets. A detailed table of contents is to be found in Vogel 1926, pp. 151–53 (reference from O.v.H.). A complete translation is to be found in Grünwedel 1897, pp. 83–89.

she goes to Benares and arrives in the middle of the performance at court.] She begs the king to ransom her husband. But the word of the king is all that is required for the snake charmer to set the nāga free. In gratitude, the nāga asks permission to show the king his underwater palaces, and repeatedly swears that he has no evil intentions toward his rescuer. Eventually the king agrees and, accompanied by the nāga, visits his dwelling place. Amazed at the splendour, the king wants to know why the nāga keeps uposatha. He explains that it is only as a human that he would have the chance to escape the cycle of saṃsāra. Showered with gifts, the king returns to the human world.

The text of the Campeyya Jātaka, as we have it, is a mixture of 34½ triṣṭubhs and 9½ ślokas. Now Alsdorf, in his various masterly studies of individual Jātakas, repeatedly worked out the relationship between these two metres and showed that when triṣṭubh and śloka verses appear together, it is usually the śloka gāthās which have been added subsequently.⁷ Thus, in the case of the Campeyya Jātaka, the śloka gāthās will be examined first with regard to their place in the original gāthā collection of the Jātaka.⁸

The Jātaka opens with two śloka gāthās⁹ of which some single pādas have parallels in other Jātakas (“floating pādas”). So 1ab (*kā nu*

⁷“There can certainly be no question of the śloka as such being more recent than ... [the] tr[īṣṭubh], so that any śloka should be regarded as later than any tr. because of its metre; but the śloka remains ‘modern’, and it becomes the most common metre, as the tr. becomes less fashionable, so that it finds ... a role as successor to the tr.” (Alsdorf 1971, pp. 29f. (= *Kl. Sch.* pp. 386f.)). Cf. Alsdorf 1968b, p. 478 (= *Kl. Sch.* p. 364) and Sakamoto-Goto 1984, pp. 46 and 64, n. 58.

⁸Cf. also Alsdorf 1957a, p. 202 (*Kl. Sch.*, p. 186): “The bulk of both these texts consists of triṣṭubh verses, and it might be worthwhile to examine at the outset all the non-triṣṭubh stanzas with a view to ascertaining whether they are ‘original’ or whether there are grounds to justify the natural suspicion that they are secondary additions.”

⁹Cf. Mvu II 181.5*.8*, 10*-11*: *kā nu vidyud ivābhāsi *usarā viya tārakā | ... devī asi vā gandharvī na tvam asi hi mānuṣī || nāham devī na gandharvī na mahārāja mānuṣī | nāgakanyāham bhadrā te *arthinī iha āgatā ||*. According

vijju-r-ivābhāsi osadhī viya tārakā)¹⁰ is found in the Alambusā Jātaka (Ja V 155.16*), which is completely composed in śloka.¹¹ Gāthā 1c (*devatā nu si gandhabbī*), has parallels in Ja V 260.5*, 317.4*, VI 13.13* (*devatā nu si gandhabbo*), where each time the answer given in 2a (*n'amhi devo na gandhabbo*) also follows (Ja V 260.7*, 317.8*; VI 13.16*).

These two śloka are clearly an example of the tendency of the Jātaka redactors to clarify exactly who is speaking or acting and to explain their motives. This led, probably before the addition of the two śloka, to gāthā 3 having another triṣṭubh¹² inserted, which undoubtedly

to Senart's text, the Mvu reads *sarasi viya tārakāḥ*. Lüders (1954: §83) based on Senart's mss reconstructs the "basic text" of the Mahāvastu as *osalī viya tālakā* (> *usalā viya tālakā* > *usarā viya tārakā* (thus mss BC II 181.5*; the "visarga" of *tārakāḥ* is merely a punctuation mark)), where *osalī* corresponds to Skt. *auśarī*; *osalī tālakā*, that is, "the morning star". Earlier, Charpentier (1909, p. 35) read *usarā viya tārakāḥ* with mss BC. Moreover, he conjectured that Mvu II 181.8* should read *na tvam manyāmi mānuṣīm*, for which he refers to mss BC (*na te anyāni mā*). For the conjecture **arthinī* instead of *avīcī* as transmitted, cf. Jones 1952, p. 175, n. 7.

¹⁰The first pāda is closely connected with the prose story. For there it is said that the nāga's wife, searching for her husband, appears at the king's court floating in the air (*ākāse ... aṭṭhāsi*, Ja IV 459.8). The comparison of the nāgī with a bright flash of lightning presumably gave rise to this passage in the story.

¹¹It is interesting that, only a few gāthās earlier (and also in the Alambusā Jātaka (V 154.19*)), the characterization of a person as *uggateja* is found (cf. Campeyya Jātaka, g. 4). Moreover, Alambusā Jātaka 14d (*āmuttamaṇikuṇḍalā*) may be compared with Campeyya Jātaka, g. 8b. Further Jātaka instances of the comparison [*kā nu vijju-r-ivābhāsi*] *osadhī viya tārakā* are recorded by Lüders 1954, §83.

¹²*vibbhantacittā kupitindriyāsi, nettehi te vārigaṇā savanti | kin te natṭham kiṃ pana patthayānā, idhāgatā nārī tad iṅgha brūhi* ||. Cf. Mvu II 181.13*-16*: **vibhrāntacittā vilutendriyāsi, netrehi te vāri śravanti kin te | naṣṭam hi kiṃcī abhiprārthayanti, ihāgatā *dāni na dīrgham brūhi* || (Senart 1890: pāda a *citrāntacittā* [see Edgerton 1953 s.v. *viluta*; on the confusion of *c/v* and *t/bh* in Nepalese manuscripts see Regamey 1954, p. 517; cf. Charpentier 1909, p. 36], pāda d *tāni*).

originated in the Sattubhastā Jātaka (no. 402).¹³ Gāthās 2d, 3cd and 11-12ab may be compared with the almost literally identical gāthās 1-3 of the Jūṇha Jātaka (Ja IV 97.8*-28*).

The reason for the nāga wife's trust as she turns to the king with her request is explained in śloka gāthā 8, the first pāda of which has a parallel in Ja IV 320.8*, and the second pāda of which was a very popular set piece (see note 11 and CPD under *āmutta-*; both together as pādas a and d in Ja V 259.15*-16*: *soḷasitthisahassāni sabbālaṃkāra-bhūsitā | vicitrahatthābharaṇā āmuttamaṇikuṇḍalā* ||).¹⁴

In the 1½ śloka 11-12ab the type and amount of the "ransom" to be offered for the freedom of the nāga are presented in more detail than in gāthā 9.¹⁵ These verses come from the Rohantamiga Jātaka, which is

¹³The gāthā appears (with masculine forms) in the Sattubhastā Jātaka (Ja III 344.19*-22*), where pāda d however reads *idhāgamā brahme tad iṅgha brūhi*. The Sattubhastā Jātaka has eight gāthās but is in the Satta-nipāta, so it originally comprised only seven gāthās. It is definitely gāthā 5 (Ja III 348.2*-5*) which was added later. The first gāthā (*vibbhantacitto ...*) thus belongs to the original Sattubhastā Jātaka and may have been taken into the Campeyya Jātaka from there.

¹⁴*soḷas'-itthisahassāni āmuttamaṇikuṇḍalā | vārigehāsaya nārīyo [Inārī] tā pi tam saraṇam gatā* || (8^a: S °ithī°; 8^c: S^a vārighe sayā nārī, L 1471 nārī, CB S^p °gehasayā nārī). — Mvu II 183.12^f: *ṣoḍaśa strīsaḥasrāṇi āmuttamaṇikuṇḍalā | vārivāsagrāhāsrītā *nārīyo tvam saraṇam *gatā* || (Senart 1890: *ārya tvam saraṇāgatā*; to be corrected with ms B (Charpentier 1909, p. 38)). The prose text of the Mvu version also recounts that the senior wife of the nāga appears at the court of King Ugrasena in Benares accompanied by 16,000 women (Mvu II 178.18-20).

¹⁵*dammi nikkhasataṃ ludda thullaṇ ca maṇikuṇḍalaṃ | catussadaṇ ca pallaṅkaṃ ummāpupphasirinnibhaṃ* || 11 || *dve ca sādisiyo bhārīyā usabhaṇ ca gavaṃ sataṃ | ossaṭṭhakāyo urago carātu, puṇṇatthiko muccatu bandhanasmā* || 12 || (11b: BS *thūlaṇ*; 11c: S *caturassaṇ ca*, B *umāpupphasirinnibhaṃ*, S *ummārapupphasannibhaṃ*; 12d: ESB L 1471 *muñcatu*, C *muccatu*). — Mvu II 183.15*-17*: *demi niṣkaṣataṃ lubdha sthūlā ca maṇikuṇḍalā | catuḥśataṃ ca paryaṅkaṃ dāmakapuṣpasannibhaṃ | bhāryāṃ ca sadṛśīdeviṃ mucyatu uragādhipaḥ* || (Senart 1890: pāda a: *labdham*; pāda c: Charpentier 1909, p. 39, reads *catuḥśadaṇ ca*; Jones 1952, p. 177, n. 3, **catutsada* (< *catuḥśada*; cf. Pāli *cat-ussada* - "four-cornered"). Whether this translation of **catutsada* is correct, however, is questionable, as the

composed entirely in śloka (Ja IV 422.4*-6*). Two triṣṭubh pādas 12 cd (= 9cd = 10cd = 13cd), repeated once again, complete these gāthās.

For the textual criticism of śloka gāthā 14¹⁶ it is sufficient to refer to Alsdorf's observation, "[an] example, so frequently observed in the Jātaka, of the gradual versification of parts of the story originally left in prose (in particular indications of who is speaking)."¹⁷ Moreover, pādas cde = Ja VI 82.3*/5* (cf. 88.25*).

Finally, śloka gāthās 25–28 merely bring forward the older description of the palace composed in triṣṭubhs (see below, gāthās 30–35). In content and choice of words, they are so exactly modelled on the following triṣṭubh gāthās 30–35 that there can hardly be doubt about their secondary nature.

A peculiarity common to gāthās 14 and 25–28 is the citation of names (Kāsirājan, Kāsivaddhana,¹⁸ Campeyya¹⁹) which also includes

adjective *catussada-* at Ja IV 309.26* is an epithet of *grāma-* (*catussadam grāmavaram samiddham*). In Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā the corresponding verse is *catuṣṣatam grāmavaram samiddham* (113.8*), which shows that the word was apparently no longer understood very early on (see also Kern 1891, p. 247; Speyer 1895, p. 160, n. 2).

¹⁶*mutto campeyyako nāgo rājānam etad-abravi | namo te kāsirāj' atthu namo te kāsivaddhana | añjalin te paṇḍhāmi passeyyam me nivesanam* || (of note is *passeyyam*, which in fact means "I would like to see". Read **passedam* ("See this palace of mine"); I wish to thank Prof. A. Wezler for suggesting this conjectured reading). Cf. Mvu II 184.1*-3*; *mukto campako nāgo kāsirājānam bhāṣati* [prose] | *namo te kāsīnām rāja namo te kāsivardhana | añjalin te pragrhnāmi paśya rāja mo niveśanam* || (Is the prose line Mvu II 184.1 to be corrected to a śloka: *mukto *campeyyako nāgo*? Or is this a case where "the prose of the Mahāvastu adapts the hieratic form of words to a *vṛtagandhi*" (Smith 1953, p. 121)? Manuscript L 1471 of the Pāli Jātaka also often reads "Campaka" (g. 26b, 27d, 28b)).

¹⁷Alsdorf 1971, p. 29 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 386). Cf. Oldenberg 1918, p. 440 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 1080).

¹⁸25b: SB L 1471 °*vaddhano*, EC °*vaddhano*.

¹⁹Manuscript L 1471 in g. 26–28 always reads "Campaka" (see n. 16). Mvu also offers this form of the name, but only in the prose (e.g. Mvu II 177.14, 184.1). The title of the (Campeyya) Jātaka is referred to at Ja I 45.20 (*tathā ... campeyyanāgarājakāle ... sīlapāramitāya pūritattabhāvānam parimāṇam*

gāthās 24²⁰ (Uggasena²¹) and 29 (Kāsirājan), but differentiates all these gāthās from those of the original Jātaka. That the king who frees the captured nāga is the King of Kāsī seems to be picked out of the last gāthā by the redactor (*bārānasim nagaram iddhaphitām, rajjañ ca kārehi ...*). Where the name Campeyya (gāthās 26–28) or Campeyyaka (gāthās 14 and 30) comes from, I cannot say. The composer of the prose, however, derives the name by adding the suffix *-eyya*-²² to the name of the River Campā,²³ where according to the prose (Ja IV 454.11f.) the dwelling place of the nāga is to be found. These facts seem to come merely from the wish of the prose writer to localize the story and to give the main characters names.

It may be said with some degree of certainty that the 9½ śloka gāthās and triṣṭubh gāthās 3, 12cd, 24, and 29 were not among the

nāma natthi) and Papañcasūdanī II 617 (C^e = Ps (E^e) III 91.2 (Malalasekera 1937, p. 857). I would simply like to add the reference at Vism Chapter 9, § 33 (*campeyyo pi nāgarājā hutvā ahitundikena viheṭṭhiyamāno manopadosa-mattam pi na uppādesi | yathāha ...* (Cariyāpitaka 85–86)). Lüders has shown (1941, pp. 136ff.), that the titles in the Jātaka collection are recent and partly based on a misunderstanding of the text (cf. also particularly Mehendale 1970, pp. 125–29).

²⁰*bherimūtiṅgā paṇavā ca saṅkhā, *āvajjum* [/ **avajjimsu*] *uggasenassa rañño | pāyāsi rājā bahu sobhamāno, purakkhato nāriganassa majjhe* || (24b: E *āvajjayimsu*, B *avajjayimsu*, C *āvajjisum*, C^{ks} S L 1471 *āvajjimsu*, Nālanda *avajjayimsu*, S *uggasenarañño*). Cf. Mvu II 186.1*-4*: *bherī mṛdaṅgā paṭahās ca saṅkhā, vādyensu veṇū ugrasena rājā | niryāti rājā mahatā balena, puraskṛto nāriganasya madhye* || and Harivaṃśa 94.14: *vasudevam puraskṛtya bherīsaṅkharavaiḥ saha | ugraseno yayau rājā vāsudevani-veśanam* || — The verb forms **āvajjum*, *āvajjimsu* (forms with *ā°* are most probably wrong readings) and *avajjayimsu*, which CPD does not refer to (under *āvajjī°* (so g. 24a in E)), are aorists of the passive of the causative *vādeti* (*avajjiyimsu* (so read) seems to be a double passive (on which see von Hinüber 2001, § 458): *vādyā° > vajjā° → avajjī-iy-imsu*).

²¹Otherwise only referred to in the prose (Ja IV 458.13, 467.23, 468.22; cf. Mvu II 177.9, 178.19f., 179.6). The Harivaṃśa passage 94.14, cited in the preceding footnote, may be compared in particular.

²²By intensification (von Hinüber 2001, § 213) from Old Indic *-eya-*.

²³Malalasekera (1937, p. 857) under "4 Campā" notes only this passage.

original gāthās of the Jātaka. None of these verses is necessary for the development of the story told in the Campeyya Jātaka. They depict more fully certain details which were only sketched in the original Jātaka (gāthās 1–3, worry and grief of the nāga wife); they explain other points (gāthā 8, the nāga wife finds refuge with the king; gāthās 11, 12, ransom money; 25–29, description of the palace); indicate who is speaking (gāthās 14, 30ab), or give the story a local, personal setting (gāthās 24, 29). If they are left out, a cogent plot remains, free of unnecessary repetition.

In the fourth gāthā there is a verse which fulfils all the requirements of the first gāthā of a Jātaka. Apart from the general introduction of the theme (“The Capture of the Nāga”), the identity of the speaker (the wife of the nāga) and her motives (a plea for the release of the nāga) are clearly indicated.

I–4 yam uggatejo urago ti cāhu, nāgo ti taṃ āha jano janinda |
tam aggahī puriso jīvikattho, taṃ bandhanā muñca patī mam’ eso ||²⁴

The one who is also (*ca*) called the snake of powerful energy, the people call nāga, O king. He was caught by a man who is making a living from him. Release him from captivity. He is my husband.

The characterization of the nāga as *uggateja*- elicits a question from the king which is posed in similar form in gāthā 34 of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka (5b = Ja V 172,16*), where the snake had earlier been described

²⁴4b: ES^p āhu jano (S^a (āhu) manussaloke instead of jano janinda; cf. Ja V 137,27* *maghavā ti naṃ āhu manussaloke*), L 1471 *āha jano*, C B *āhu janā*. Cf. Mvu II 181,19* *nāgo ti naṃ āhu janā janendra*. E S^p āhu jano may be compared with Ja VI 336,17* (*alikaṃ bhāsati [yaṃ] dhuttī saccam āhu mahallikā* || (grammatical cty.: *āhū ti āha katheti | ayam eva vā-pāṭho*)) where the singular in pāda 1 suggests that the same be assumed in pāda 2 as well. Cf. Norman 1969, p. 136, on Th 57, *ayam āhu purāṇiyā kuṭi* (see CPD s.v. *āha* (“wrongly taken = ahosi, Th-a”)); on a similar case in the Mahāvastu (Mvu II 96,5*: *te dāni ṛṣayo ... rājānaṃ ... uvāca*) cf. Leumann and Watanabe 1970, p. 79, n. 638.

as *mahānubhāva*- “of great power” and *tejassin*- “possessing fiery power”.²⁵

II–5 kathaṃ nvayaṃ balaviriyūpapanno, hatthattham āgañchi vanibbakassa |
akkhāhi me nāgakaññe tam atthaṃ, kathaṃ vijānemu gahītanāgaṃ ||²⁶

How then did this creature endowed with strength and power fall into the hands²⁷ of a beggar?²⁸ Tell me that, nāga girl. How could I have recognized [him] as a captured nāga?²⁹

The answer to this question gives a motive, which, as Alsdorf showed (1977, p. 29f. = *Kl. Sch.*, pp. 789f.), is repeated in various nāga Jātakas, including the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka (gāthā 37). As “venerator of the Dhamma of the Righteous” the nāga was keeping the uposatha on a

²⁵*appānubhāvā taṃ mahānubhāvaṃ, tejassinam hanti atejavanto | kim-eva dāthāvuḍha kiṃ paṭicca, hatthattham āgañchi vanibbakānaṃ* || (see below, “Remarks on the text of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka”, ad g. 34c).

²⁶5b: SB *āgacchi*, C *vaṇibbakassa*. — 5c: Should the words be separated as *nāgakaññ’ etam-atthaṃ*? Cf. also g. 38c *nāgarāje tam atthaṃ* (= Saṅkhapāla Jātaka 28c, 30c, 42c (see below, “Remarks on the text of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka”, ad g. 28c). — Mvu II 182,6*–9*: *kathaṃ vijāneya grhītanāgo, sa ugratejo balasthāmavanto | durāsado duḥprasaho bhujamgo, hastatvam āgacche vaṇīpakasya* ||.

²⁷Compare Edgerton 1953b s.v. *hastatva*- for the expression *hatthattham gacchati* (and similar expressions at Ja I 244,10*, III 204,19*, and VI 318,23*). He also gives a reference to CPD ²*attha*- 2., where Sinhalese *-aṭa* is compared, citing Geiger, *Litt. u. Spr. der Singh.*, §40B. With Pāli *hatthattham gacchati* cf. AMg. *hatthajjam āgayā*, Utt XIV 45 — another example of “the craving for distinctiveness of Jainas and Buddhists in regard to their terminology” (Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, pp. 111–12, n. 3).

²⁸See Alsdorf 1977, p. 33, n. 36 (*Kl. Sch.*, p. 793, n. 36), and Edgerton 1953b s.v. *vaṇīpaka*- “beggar”. According to the prose version of this Pāli Jātaka, this should be translated as “showman” (O.v.H.).

²⁹Attention should be paid to the syntax of the compound. Cf. Senart’s note to the Mvu text (Senart 1890, p. 530) : “‘How can one believe that ...’. As for *grhītanāgo*, judging by *nigrhītanāgo*, line 4 on the following page, *grhīta* is to be understood literally in the sense of *nigrhīta*: ‘who has suppressed the nāga’, that is, ‘who has concealed his strength and appearance as a nāga’”.

termite mound (according to the prose version, 460,20),³⁰ where he was eventually taken captive.³¹

III-6 nagaram pi nāgo bhasmaṃ kareyya, tathā hi so balaviriyūpapanno |
dhammañ ca nāgo apacāyamāno, tasmā parakkamma tapo karoti ||³²

The nāga could reduce a [whole] town to ashes, he is so strong and powerful; but out of reverence for the Dhamma he resolutely practises tapas.³³

IV-7 cātuddasiṃ paṇṇarasiñ ca rāja, catuppathe sammati nāgarājā |
tam aggahī puriso jīvikattho, taṃ bandhanā muñca patī mam' eso ||³⁴

On the fourteenth and fifteenth [days³⁵ of the half-month] the nāga king stayed at a crossroads, O king. There he was captured by a man, who is [thus] earning his living. Release him from captivity. He is my husband.

In the following gāthā the wife of the nāga expresses her plea for the release of her husband from captivity and for him to be treated without violence — to match the nāga's own behaviour.

³⁰Cf. Ja IV 330,3*-6*, *anujagāmi uraga (d)dujivha, dāthāvudho ghoraviso si sappa | khudaṃ pipāsaṃ adhvāsāyanto, kasmā bhavaṃ posathiko nu dīgho*, and Ja VI 174,32*, *uposatham upavasanto semi vammikamuddhani* (cf. Alsdorf 1977, p. 29 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 789)).

³¹Cf. Ja V 172,25*-28*, *cātuddasiṃ *paṇṇarasiñ c'alāra, uposatham niccam-upāvasāmi | athāgamuṃ solasa bhojaputtā, rajjuṃ gahetvāna dalhañ ca pāsam* ||

³²6a: *nagaram pi* (≈ - ~); see Smith 1949, p. 1151. Pāda d = 36d (= Ja V 173,12*). Mvu II 18,1*-4*: *nagaram pi nāgo bhasmikareyā, tathā hi yāvac ca balopapeto | dharmaṃ tu nāgo *apacāyamāno, hastatvam āgacche vañīpakasya* ||; Senart 1890, pāda c: *ayam yācamāno* (cf. Charpentier 1909, p. 37, and Jones 1952, p. 176, n. 2).

³³For the translation cf. Alsdorf 1977, p. 33 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 793).

³⁴7a: E *pannarasiñ ca*, S^a *cātuddasī paṇṇarasi ca rājā*, S^p C *paṇṇarasiñ ca*, B L 1471 *pañcadasiṃ* (cf. on this vo Hinüber 2001, § 402). Cf. Mvu II 182,11*-14*: *caturdaśiṃ pañcadaśiṃ ca aṣṭamīm, catuṣpathe gacchati nāgarājō | osṣṭakāyo vicaranto nāgo, hastatvam āgacche vañīpakasya* || (cf. Thī 3 I *cātuddasī pañcaddasī yā calva pakkhassa aṭṭhamī* with pāda a).

³⁵Here, the day is surely meant (cf. *uposathadivasa*-) because the laity keep the uposatha during the day by fasting, etc.

V-9 dhammena mocehi asāhasena, gāmena nikkhena gavaṃ satena |
ossatṭhakāyo urago carātu, puññatthiko muccatu bandhanasmā ||³⁶

In accordance with the Dhamma, release him without violence by means of [the gift of] a village, gold jewellery [or] of a hundred cows. The snake should leave, having lowered his body.³⁷ He who [after all only] wanted to gain merit, should be released from captivity.

In the next gāthā (VI-10) the king agrees to this request in the same words (a principle of “oral poetry”).³⁸ As indicated above, both the following verses (11, 12) were added later only to give more details of the extent of the ransom.

VII-13 vināpi dānā tava vacanam janinda,

muñcemu naṃ uragam bandhanasmā |

ossatṭhakāyo urago carātu, puññatthiko muccatu bandhanasmā ||³⁹

Even without a gift, O king, we will release this snake from captivity on the strength of your word.⁴⁰ ...

³⁶9d: E SB L 1471 *muñcatu*, C *muccatu*. Cf. Mvu II 183,2*-5*: *dharmeṇa mocehi asāhasena, grāmeṇa niṣkena ca goṣatena | osṣṭakāyo nigrhītanāgo, puñyārthiko mucyatu nāgarājō* ||

³⁷*ossatṭhakāya*- seems to denote the non-aggressive posture of snakes which have “lowered their bodies”. As a peaceful attitude is appropriate for someone practising the *uposatha*, snakes are described thus when celebrating this day (cf. S III 24 I,15: *ko nu kho bhante hetu ko paccayo yena-m-idh' ekacce aṇḍajā nāgā uposatham upavasanti ossatṭhakāyā ca bhavanti ti*). I am indebted to Prof. Dr Albrecht Wezler for this explanation.

³⁸Here too read *muccatu* with C (E SB L 1471 *muñcatu*). Mvu II 183,7*-10*: ... *moceṣyam, ... | osṣṭakāyo ca bhujamgo gacchatu, prīto ca sampadyatu nāgarājā* ||

³⁹13a: hypermetric pāda, in view of L 1471 *vināpi dānena tava* and C^k *tha* for *tava* perhaps read *vināpi dānā te vacanam janinda* (≈ - ~ - - | - ~ ~ | - ~ - ~, typically hypermetric because of the deferred caesura (O.v.H.)). 13b: S^a L 1471 *muñcemi*; 13d: C *muccatu*, E SB L 1471 *muñcatu*. — Mvu II 183,19*-22*: *vinā tu dānā vacanān narendra, muñcām' imaṃ dhārmiko nāgarājā | mahānubhāvo paralokadarśī, mahābalo so ca na saṃviheṭṭhyo* ||

⁴⁰Cf. Alsdorf 1977, p. 30, n. 23 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 790, n. 23): “*vinā pi dānā tava vacanam nar' inda* (g. 13): according to Mvu II 183,19* *vinā tu dānā vacanān narendra*, ECSB *vacanam* is to be corrected to *nā* (or abl. -*aṃ*?)” For the

It emerges clearly from gāthā 15 that on his release, the snake invites the king to visit his underwater palaces, whereupon the king takes pause for thought, explaining that a man should not in fact trust a snake. This in turn leads the snake to protest his sincerity in two verses, the first of which appears verbatim in the Mahāsutasoma Jātaka (Ja V 480.15*-18*). The gāthā is thus correctly placed before the two verses of protestation and belongs to the original content of the Jātaka.

VIII-15 addhā hi dubbissāsam etam āhu, yaṃ mānuso vissase amānusamhi |
sace ca maṃ yācasi etam atthaṃ, dakkhemu te nāga nivesanāni ||⁴¹

In fact they call it misplaced trust for a human to trust a non-human. But if you ask me [now] for that, O nāga, I shall [come with you to] see your dwellings.

As gāthā 18 it comes after the two gāthās of oath, repeated for emphasis.⁴²

IX-16 sace pi vāto girim āvaheyya, cando ca surīyo ca chamā pateyyuṃ |
sabbā ca najjo paṭisotaṃ vajeyyuṃ
na tv-ev' ahaṃ rāja musā bhaṇeyyaṃ ||⁴³

ablative singular in -aṃ cf. Sakamoto-Goto 1984, p. 52, n. 32, vo Hinüber 2001, § 304, and Oberlies 2001, p. 144.

⁴¹ 15a: E CB S^p dubbissāsam, S^a L 1471 dubbissāsam (cf. PED s.v. vissāsa-) (so also 18a). 15b: all mss = E amānusamhi (to remove the hypermetric syllable, perhaps read vissase 'mānusamhi (suggestion of Ch.W., who furthermore referred me to R̥gveda 10.95.8b on the subject of the comparison "human/beast")).

⁴² Indeed, the Siamese edition of the Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā of A.B. 2471 (1928) does not give this stanza.

⁴³ 16a: EC sace hi, B B^d (Fausbøll) S L 1471 pi (cf. Mahāsutasoma Jātaka g. 35a (Ja V 480.15*): sace pi vāto ... (cited at Saddanīti 815.6) and Mvu II 185.3*-6*: apy eva vāto girim āvaheyya, candro ca sūryo ca kṣitīm pateya | sarvā ca nadyo pratiśrotā vahensuḥ, na tv ev' ahaṃ rāja mṛṣā bhaṇeyyaṃ ||). 16d: S^a L 1471 tv-evāhaṃ.

Even if the wind were to carry off a mountain, sun and moon were to fall to earth, and all rivers run backwards, I would not, O king, tell an untruth.⁴⁴

X-17 nabhaṃ phaleyya udadhī pi susse, saṃvaṭṭaye bhūtadharā vasundharā |
siluccayo meru samūlam ubbahe,
na tv-ev' ahaṃ rāja musā bhaṇeyyaṃ ||⁴⁵

The sky could burst, the ocean dry up, the creature-carrying earth could coil itself up [and] Mount Meru rip out its own roots,⁴⁶ but I, O king, would not tell an untruth.

As regards verses 19-22, there is no doubt that they belong to the old gāthā content of the Jātaka. They build up a picture of the risk which a visit to a nāga represents and show the nāga and his kin as true "venerators of the Dhamma of the Righteous", grateful and true to their word.

XI-19 tumhe kho cettha ghoraviṣā ulārā, mahātejā khippakopā ca hōtha |
mama kāraṇā bandhanasmā pamutto, arahasi no jānituṃ ye katāni ||⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Compare Ja III 62.18*f: ambho na kira saddheyyaṃ yaṃ vāto pabbataṃ vahe | pabbataṃ ca vahe vāto sabbam pi paṭhaviṃ vahe || "Who could ever believe that the wind | would lift a mountain from the earth? | And yet the wind would sooner carry | the mountain away, even the whole earth ||" (Lüders 1921, p. 218).

⁴⁵ 17b: EC saṃvaṭṭayaṃ (read: saṃvaṭṭ' ayaṃ "this [earth] could coil itself up" (?)), S saṃvaṭṭeyya, L 1471 saṃvatteyyuṃ (corrected to saṃvaṭṭaye (read: vaṭṭaye)), B saṃvaṭṭaye; 17d: S^a L 1471 tv-evāhaṃ.

⁴⁶ I take samūla as Skt. svamūla-, following a suggestion of O.v.H. Pāli ubbahati ("tear out") comes from Old Indic ud-vrhati, which survives in Prakrit uvvīhai (cf. Pischel § 489) with the verbal adjective uvvūḍha- or uvvīḍha- (cf. Wackernagel 1937, p. 833 (= Kl. Sch., p. 415)). Cf. Ja V 240.23* samūlam api abbahe. On the other hand, the commentary explains: evaṃ mahā-sinerupabbato samūlo uṭṭhāya purāṇapaṇṇaṃ viya ākāse pakkhandeyya (Ja IV 462.26f), taking samūla- to be a bahuvrīhi (= mūlena sahitaḥ) and ubbahe = udvahet (cf. also CPD s.v.).

⁴⁷ 19a: BCS tumhe khottha, L 1471 tumhe kho cettha (read: khō (cf. Alsdorf 1968a, p. 59) or with Fausbøll tumhe 'ttha kho); EBCSP °kopī, S^a L 1471 °kopā; 19c: B maṃkāraṇā (Fausbøll's mama kāraṇā scans = - - -); 19d: L 1471 arahāsī (= - -), E L 1471 jānīṭaye (read jānīṭāye), C jānīṭāye, C^{ks}

You are indeed large, terribly poisonous and of great brilliance; you are also quick to anger.⁴⁸ Through me you have been freed from captivity. I expect you to be grateful to me.

XII–20 so paccataṃ niraye ghorarūpe, mā kāyikaṃ sātāṃ alattha kiñci |
peḷāya baddho maraṇaṃ upetu, yo tādisaṃ kamma kataṃ na jāne ||⁴⁹

Anyone not grateful for a deed done for him such as this should roast in a terrible hell,⁵⁰ should find no bodily comfort, should die imprisoned in a basket.

XIII–21 saccappaṭiñṇā tava-m-esa hotu, akkodhano hohi anūpanāhī |
sabbaṃ ca te nāgakulaṃ supaṇṇā, aggiṃ va gimhāsu vivajjayantu ||⁵¹

Let this be your true promise. Be free from anger, not contentious. And all your nāga kin shall avoid the supaṇṇas as [men] avoid fire in summer.

XIV–22 anukampasī nāgakulaṃ janinda, mātā yathā suppiyaṃ ekaputtaṃ |
ahaṃ ca te nāgakulena saddhiṃ, kāhāmi veyyāvaṭikaṃ uḷāraṃ ||⁵²

jānitamye, B *jānituye* (to be explained as *jānitumye*), S *jānitave* (on these different infinitives see Oberlies 2001, pp. 263–64). Cf. Mvu II 184.5*–8*: [*suduṣkaraṃ nāga mayā kṛtaṃ te*], *duḥkhāsi tvaṃ bandhanād asi muktaḥ* | *jāto ca loke na kṛtāni jānati, mā khussa me nāga kṛtaṃ na jāne* ||, and Mvu II 184.15*–18*: *tuṃhe hi me tīkṣṇaviṣā udārā, mahābalā kṣiprakopā ca nāgā* | [*nāgāham etaṃ abhiśraddadhāmi*], [*no tvaṃ amanuṣo manuṣasya kruddho*] || (at Mvu II 184.18* read *amānuṣo mānuṣasya* with mss BC (Charpentier 1909, p. 41)).

⁴⁸Cf. Rāmāyaṇa 4.58.9b *tīkṣṇakopā bhujāṅgamāḥ*.

⁴⁹Cf. Mvu II 184.10*–13*: *narakasmim jīveya ciraṃ sa *kālaṃ, mā kāyikaṃ kimci labheya sādhu* | *yo bādhathe pūrvakārisya rājan, asmādrśo tuhya kṛtaṃ na jāne* || Senart 1890: 17a, *kāmaṃ*; 17c, *pūrvakarisyā rājño*; cf. however mss BC (Charpentier 1909, p. 40; on *pūrvakārisya*, cf. also Edgerton 1953b s.v. *pūrvakārin*); 17d: *yo tādrśaṃ karma kṛtaṃ na jāne* (cf. Jones 1952, p. 178, n. 2). Charpentier 1909, p. 40, restores pādas cd as follows: *yo bādhitō pūrvakārisya rājan, asmādrśo tuhya kṛtaṃ na jāne* || and translates: “who — bound to a former benefactor as I am to you, O king — is not grateful?”

⁵⁰Cf. Ja VI 183.2* *paccati niraye ghore*.

⁵¹21b: B *anupanāhi*; 21d: S *aggi va*, B *gimhesu*.

⁵²22a: BCS^a *anukampasī* (— — —)

You have pity on the nāga kin, O king, like a mother on her only son who is very dear to her. [Therefore,] the nāga kin and I will render you great service.⁵³

After the king had satisfied himself as to the sincerity of the nāga, he gave the order to depart. Pāda d, which takes up 15d, argues against elimination of the verse, which must be taken into consideration because similar “instructions” are frequently interpolated by the revisers of the Jātakas.

XV–23 yojentu ve rājarathe sucitte, kambojake assatare sudante |
nāge ca yojentu suvaṇṇakappane, dakkhemu nāgassa nivesanāni ||⁵⁴

The well-tamed mules from Kamboja should be harnessed to the lovely shining carriage of the king and [also] the elephants, decorated with golden bridles.⁵⁵ We wish to [go to] see the palaces of the nāga.

The following gāthās, which have in part been included verbatim in the Vimānavatthu,⁵⁶ give a typical description of the magnificent dwelling places of the nāgas.⁵⁷ In the course of transmission, the original description of the palace in triṣṭubhs had inserted before it a second description in śloka, which, in part, verbally reflects the older

⁵³On *veyyāvaṭika*- cf. Lüders 1954, §99.

⁵⁴23a: L 1471 *yojayantu rāja* (— — —); 23c: L 1471 *suvaṇṇakappake*. Cf. Mvu II 185.11*–14*: *yujyantu te rājarathā sucitrā, kambojakā aśvavarā sudāntā* | *hastī ca yujyantu suvaṇṇacchatrā, drakṣyāmy ahaṃ nāganiveśanāni* || Charpentier 1909, p. 41, corrected to **aśvatarā*. Cf. Ja IV 395.16* *yojentu ve rājarathe* with pāda a of the Pāli text (cf. Alsdorf 1957a, p. 203 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 187)).

⁵⁵Cf. Ja IV 404.26*–27* (*yutte deva rathe dehi ājānīye c’alamkate* | *nāge dehi mahārāja hemakappanavāsase*), V 258.27* (... *mātāṅgā hemakappanavāsasā*) and Skt. *kalpanā*- Amarakośa (NS Press) 1551, Daśakumāracarita (ed. M. R. Kāle) 59.7, Jātakamālā 74.9.

⁵⁶Ja 30 ab = Vv 17.1a; Ja 31a = Vv 36.2a; Ja 31b = Vv 64.13c; Ja 32a, 35a = Vv 44.11ab; Ja 33ab = Vv 11.1ab; Ja 34ab = Vv 6.8cd, 8.8cd; Ja 35ab = Vv 44.3cd, 84.32bc.

⁵⁷Cf. Alsdorf 1971, pp. 53–55 (= *Kl. Sch.*, pp. 410–12).

version.⁵⁸ The following 1½ triṣṭubhs (gāthās 29 and 30 ab) could not have belonged to the old gāthā collection either, if the grammar in the case of g. 29 is taken as the only criterion.⁵⁹ Moreover, as is so often found, 30ab merely puts into verse an indication of who is speaking (see above, p. 119).⁶⁰

XVI–30 vimānaseṭṭhāni imāni tuyhaṃ, ādiccavaṇṇāni pabhassarāni |
n' etādisaṃ atthi manussaloke, kimatthiyaṃ nāga tapo karosi ||⁶¹

These magnificent palaces of yours shine like the sun. There is nothing like this in the world of men. What [then] is your reason for practising asceticism, nāga?

XVII–31 tā kambukāyūradharā suvatthā, (vaṭṭaṅgulī tambatalūpapannā)⁶²
paggayha pāyenti anomavaṇṇā |
n' etādisaṃ atthi manussaloke, kimatthiyaṃ nāga tapo karosi ||⁶³

These beautifully clad [nāga maidens] are wearing bracelets and armlets. (They have [beautiful] rounded fingers, copper-red palms and soles.) [These nāga maidens] of unparalleled beauty offer drinks with outstretched [arms]. There is nothing ...

⁵⁸Cf. 26cd (ādiccavaṇṇupanibhaṃ kamsaviṇṇupabhassaraṃ) with 30d (ādiccavaṇṇāni pabhassarāni).

⁵⁹Gāthā 29 can only be translated if a type of “split compound” is assumed (see CPD Epileg. 33* and Oberlies 2001, pp. 122–23): *nāgakañṇā ... gaṇena* for **nāgakañṇāgaṇena*; see also the explanation of the grammatical commentary Ja IV 465.9f. (read *nāgakañṇāgaṇena caritam* with B^d B^a L 1471, or rather *-kañṇānaṃ gaṇena caritam* with C^a S^a (= Ja VI 313.19–20)).

⁶⁰The number of lines in a verse should not vary either in a strophic system of metre such as the Indian (Ch.W.).

⁶¹30f: B *kiṃ patthayaṃ*.

⁶²Pāda b could easily be omitted (Ch.W.). Cf. footnote 60.

⁶³31a: L 1471 *suvaṇṇā*; 31e: B *kiṃ patthayaṃ*. Cf. Mvu II 187.20*–23*: *tvam kañcukāmbaṇḍharo suvastro, tatra yāpento anupamavaṇṇo | divyehi kāmehi samaṅgibhūtaḥ, kimarthaṃ nāga bhuvi tvam caresi ||* Cf., however, mss BC: *°dharā suvastrā, [tatra] yāyanti anopavaṇṇā |*.

XVIII–32 najjo ca khemā puthulomamacchā, adāsakuntābhirudā sutitthā |
n' etādisaṃ atthi manussaloke, kimatthiyaṃ nāga tapo karosi ||⁶⁴

And the rivers are quiet,⁶⁵ [the home of] broad-scaled fish. Their magnificent banks resound with birds living in freedom. There is nothing ...⁶⁶

XIX–33 koñcā mayūrā diviyā ca haṃsā, vaggussarā kokilā saṃpatanti |
n' etādisaṃ atthi manussaloke, kimatthiyaṃ nāga tapo karosi ||⁶⁷

Cranes, peacocks and heavenly geese, sweet sounding cuckoos fly [around] together [there]. There is nothing ...⁶⁸

XX–34 ambā ca sālā tilakā ca jambuyo, uddālakā pātaliyo ca phullā |
n' etādisaṃ atthi manussaloke, kimatthiyaṃ nāga tapo karosi ||⁶⁹

Mango, sal, *tilaka*, and roseapple trees, *uddālakas* and *pāṭalis* stand in full bloom. There is nothing ...⁷⁰

XXI–35 imā ca te pokkharāñño samantato,
diviyā ca gandhā satataṃ *saṃpavanti |

⁶⁴32a: CS L 1471 *temā*, B *te 'mā*; 32b: SP L 1471 *ādāsakuntā°*, S^a *ādāsasakuntā°* (cty: *ādāsasakuntābhirudā ti ādāsasaṅkhātehi sakuṇehi*), C *āṭa sakunīābhirudā* (C^a as one word; cty: *āṭasaṅkhātehi sakuṇehi abhirudā*), B *āṭāsakuntā°* (cty: *āṭasaṅkhātehi sakuṇehi abhirudā*) (the *āṭa* bird is named in the Vessantara Jātaka VI 539.13* (cty: *dabbīmukhasakuna*) and Cone, under *adāsakuntābhirudā* and *āṭa* is inclined to accept *āṭāsakuntābhirudā* as the correct reading); 32d: B *kiṃ patthayaṃ*.

⁶⁵Cf. Lüders 1897, pp. 118f., n. 5, where he refers to this passage (Ja IV 466.1*). But in the transmission of the text, the inclusion of *khemā* is problematic. Should we perhaps read *temā* with BCS L 1471 and connect this with *temeti* (see PED s.v.)? Is the meaning: rivers “full of water”? (O.v.H.).

⁶⁶CPD s.v. explains *adāsakunta-* as formed by haplology from **adāsasakunta-*. The correctness of this explanation is doubtful, however, in view of the reading of BCSL (cf. footnote 64; cf. also Bollée 1970, pp. 89f.).

⁶⁷33d: B *kiṃ patthayaṃ*.

⁶⁸On *koñca-* “crane” see Leslie 1998. Cf. *mayūraḥkoñcābhirudā-* Ja V 304.24*, VI 483.3* (cf. Alsdorf 1957b, p. 16 (*Kl. Sch.*, p. 285)) and D III 201.22.

⁶⁹34a: jagatī pāda (cadence – ~ – ~ –); 34d: B *kiṃ patthayaṃ*.

⁷⁰*pātālī* is the trumpet-flower tree, *Stereospermum suaveolens* (Cone and Gombrich 1977, p. 97, n. 2).

n' etādisaṃ atthi manussaloke, kimatthiyaṃ nāga tapo karosi ||⁷¹

From all sides, heavenly scents always pervade these lotus pools of yours. There is nothing ...⁷²

The following six gāthās (36–41) pose the most difficult textual problem of the Campeyya Jātaka. They are also found as gāthās 40–43 and 50–51 in the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka. Let us look at these gāthās individually.

The question posed six times, *kimatthiyaṃ nāga tapo karosi*?, definitely requires an answer, so that either gāthā 36 or perhaps gāthā 39 must have followed gāthās 30–35. It is fairly certain that gāthā 38 of the Campeyya Jātaka has been borrowed from the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka, which is shown by the choice of words of this gāthā (cf. Saṅkhapāla Jātaka gg. 31b, 34c to *mahānubhāva*–; cf. Saṅkhapāla Jātaka g. 28c (see also 30c) to *pucchāmi taṃ nāgarāje taṃ atthaṃ*⁷³). This implies that gāthā 39 also originates from the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka as a necessary answer to the question (*seyyo ito kena manussaloko*?) posed in gāthā 38. Thus

⁷¹35a: jagatī pāda °ñño (S *pokkharaññā*) *samantato* (– ° – ° –), L 1471 *samantā* (triṣṭubh pāda – ° –); 35b: EC *diviyā* (C *divyā*) *ca* (° – °) *gandhā satataṃ sampatanti* (*sampatanti* is from gāthā 33, where it is in the right place, and has been moved through *aberratio oculi* (*sampa*- twice)), S *dibbā ca* (– ° –) ... *sampavāyanti* (L 1471 om. *ca*), B *dibbā ca gandhā satataṃ pavāyanti*; the commentary reads 35b: S^a *dibbā gandhā ti ... dibbā gandhā pavāyanti*. EC^a B^a *dibbā ca gandhā ti ... dibbagandhā vāyanti*; 35d: B *kiṃ patthayaṃ*.

⁷²The syntax of the gāthā causes difficulties. As *gandhā* is the subject (cf. Ja III 91.14* *vāti cāyaṃ tato gandho*, Ja III 189.14* *vāti gandho timirānaṃ*, and Mahābhārata I, 175.10 *gandho ... pravāyati*), *pokkharañño* must be the accusative dependent on *sampavanti*. Cf. Vv 84.32 (*dibbā ca gandhā surabhī pavanti | te sampavāyanti idaṃ vimānaṃ ...*) and Th 528 (*dumāni ... samantato sabbadisā pavanti*). But should it not mean “the lotus pools emit heavenly scents”? Should it read: **imāya te pokkharañño samantato*, “around this lotus pool of yours” (*samantato* with genitive)? Or *imā ca te pokkharañño samantato*, **diviye ca *gandhe satataṃ [sam]pavanti* “these lotus pools of yours continually waft heavenly scents in all directions”? The grammatical commentary explains: *tāsu pokkharaṇiṣu satataṃ dibbagandhā vāyanti*.

⁷³Perhaps *kāmehi* might be added as well (cf. Saṅkhapāla Jātaka g. 25d).

only gāthā 36 would remain as the “original” answer of the Campeyya Jātaka to the question posed in gg. 30–35.

But the question *kimatthiyaṃ nāga tapo karosi* of gāthā 39 of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka also requires an answer, so we find ourselves facing a similar textual historical problem there. The fact that the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka with its fifty-two triṣṭubhs⁷⁴ is placed in the Cattālisa-nipāta shows that, like the Campeyya Jātaka, it was extended by at least three gāthās during revision.

If we look at the last four gāthās of this Jātaka, then it seems clear to me that the original ended with gāthā 48, which answers the question posed in gāthā 1 (*kathaṃ nu vittāni pahāya bhoge, pabbaji ...*) in pāda d (*saddhāy' ahaṃ pabbajito 'mhi rāja*). Gāthās 48cd and 49 also occur in the Theragāthā and Majjhima-nikāya, as follows:

gāthā 48b	Th 782d	M II 73.19, 20
gāthā 48c	Th 787c	M II 73.19, 20
gāthā 48c	Th 787d, 789a	M II 74.7f.
gāthā 49	Th 788	M II 74.9–12

Earlier, the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka probably ended with gāthā 48, pādas bcd of which belong to the large store of “floating pādas.”⁷⁵ Subsequently, the three gāthās 49–51 were added, praising Aḷāra's decision to live as an ascetic by general maxims, while g. 49 came in naturally because it followed two pādas very similar to g. 48cd in the Majjhima-nikāya and Theragāthā.⁷⁶

⁷⁴In Fausbøll's edition the Jātaka comprises only 51 gāthās. But apart from L 1550 (= E) all the oriental editions of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka I have used (as well as Fausbøll's manuscripts B^{ds}) have an additional verse between gāthās 32 and 33 (see below p. 132).

⁷⁵Apart from the parallel places mentioned, there are parallels for g. 48b at A IV 157.7 and M II 73.18f. (*asassataṃ vippariṇāmadhammaṃ*) and for g. 48c at Ja IV 313.1* and Sn 50c.

⁷⁶On the closing verses of the Jātaka, cf. Oldenberg 1918, pp. 432ff. (= *Kl. Sch.*, pp. 1072ff.)

These considerations point to the conclusion that the composer of the “original” Campeyya Jātaka took gāthās 36–39 from the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka (gg. 40–43), which would by no means be unusual. It is a well-known fact that the Jātaka writers “sometimes, instead of practising original composition, were engaged in a kind of jigsaw puzzle”.⁷⁷

Presumably, gāthās 40 and 41, commending the decision of the nāga (*kāhāmi jātimaraṇassa antaṃ*),⁷⁸ also do not belong to the original Campeyya Jātaka. These are “floating stanzas” which were adapted to different contexts (cf. Ja III 306.15*, 16*, 22*–25*, IV 453.15*, 16*, V 478.22*),⁷⁹ but they do not fit well here.

XXII–36 na puttahetu na dhanassa hetu, na āyuno vāpi janinda hetu |
manussayoniṃ abhipatthayāno, tasmā parakkamma tapo karomi ||⁸⁰
Not for a son, not for riches,⁸¹ nor for long life, O king, but because
I am striving for rebirth as a human, do I assiduously practise
asceticism.

⁷⁷Alsdorf 1968b, p. 478 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 364). See also Alsdorf 1971, p. 52 (*Kl. Sch.*, p. 409).

⁷⁸Gāthā 40: *addhā ha ve sevittabbā sapaññā, bahussutā ye bahuṭṭhānacintino | narīyo ca [— – —] disvāna tavañ ca nāga, kāhāmi puññāni anappakāni ||*; 40c: SB L 1550 *nāriyo*. EC *tavañ ca*, S^p B^p *tuvañ ca*, B^a S^a *tvañ ca* (on *tavañ/t(u)vañ* cf. Trenckner 1879, p. 76 (= 1908, p. 129) and Bollée 1970, p. 93); 40d: E *puññāni* (typographical error). “Certainly the wise are to be honoured, the learned who have wide-ranging knowledge. As I have seen you and the[se] women, o nāga, I will perform many meritorious [deeds].” (On *ha ve* cf. Caillat 1980, p. 56, n. 64; on pāda b, cf. Ja III 346.20* *bahūni ṭhānāni vicintayitvā*). — g. 41 *addhā ha ve sevittabbā sapaññā, bahussutā ye bahuṭṭhānacintino | narīyo ca [— – —] disvāna mamañ ca rāja, karohi puññāni anappakāni ||* “As you have seen me and the[se] women, o king, perform many meritorious [deeds].” (41c: SB L 1550 *nāriyo*; 41d: E *puññāni* (typographical error)).

⁷⁹Pādas ab correspond to Ja IV 453.15*, 16*, V 176.19*, 20*, 26*, 27* (Saṅkhapāla Ja). To pādās cd cf. Ja III 306.15*, 16*, 24*, 25*; V 176.21*, 22*, 28*, 29*. Cf. also Ja IV 281.19*–20* (*suvassa sutvāna subhāsītāni, kāhāmi puññāni anappakāni*).

⁸⁰36b: S^p B B^d L 1471 *cāpi* (see below, “Remarks on the text of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka”, g. 40b).

⁸¹Cf. Ja V 460.23*, 24* (*na dhanassa kāraṇā, na puttadārassa*).

XXIII–37 tvaṃ lohitakkho vihatantaraṃso, alaṃkato kappitakesamassu |
surosito lohitacandanena, gandhabbarājā va disā pabhāsasi ||⁸²

With red eyes, broad back,⁸³ adorned, trimmed hair and beard, you
brighten all directions like a Gandhabba king, well rubbed with red
sandalwood.

XXIV–38 deviddhipatto si mahānubhāvo, sabbehi kāmehi samaṅgibhūto |
pucchāmi taṃ nāgarāje taṃ-attham, seyyo ito kena manussaloko ||⁸⁴

Divine miraculous powers you have attained [already]. You are
powerful. All you have wished for has been given to you. So I ask
you, O king of the nāgas, the following: ‘How is the world of men
better than this [your world]?’

XXV–39 janinda nāññatra manussalokā, suddhī ca saṃvijjati saṃyamo ca |
ahañ ca laddhāna manussayoniṃ, kāhāmi jātimaraṇassa antaṃ ||⁸⁵

Nowhere, O king, but in the human world is there purity and self-
discipline. And on attaining rebirth as a human, I shall prepare for an
end to birth and death.

Amongst the last three gāthās of the Campeyya Jātaka, only g. 42 causes critical difficulties in the text, but in my opinion they are insurmountable ones. Even the oriental editions offer no variant readings

⁸²37d: E CSB L 1471 *disā pabhāsasi*, jagatī pāda (I – ~ – ~ ×). Or to form a triṣṭubh pāda should we read m.c. *disā *pabhāsi* (I – ~ – ~ ×) (Ch. W.)? Cf. B^p and B^d, which do in fact have *pabhāsi* at the parallel place in the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka, g. 41d (see below, “Remarks on the text of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka”, g. 41d).

⁸³Following Alsdorf’s translation (see CPD s.v. *antaraṃsa*-) of g. 14 of the Bhūridatta Jātaka (Alsdorf 1977, p. 47 (= *Kl. Sch.*, p. 807)). According to PED (s.v. *antaraṃsa*-), “with broad breast”.

⁸⁴For pāda b cf. Mvu II 187.22* (*divyehi kāmehi samaṅgibhūtaḥ*)

⁸⁵39a: L 1471 *nāññattha*; 39b: S^a L 1471 *suddhī vā*, C^p *suddhī ca*, C^a *suddhī ca*, S^p B *suddhī va ... vā*. Cf. Saṅkhapāla Ja g. 43b: C *suddhī vā ... saññāmo vā* (C^a cty: *saṃyamo*), SB L 1550 *suddhī va* (S^a *vā*) ... *saṃyamo vā* (exactly as the cty in S^a and B^a), and Mvu II 188.2* (ms B) *saṃvidyate (I-ti) †śod[h]i va saṃyamo vā* (cf. Smith 1953, p. 124). For a comparison of the content, see Ja III 47.14*–15*: *so hi nūna ito gantvā yoniṃ laddhāna mānusiṃ | vadaññu sīlasampanno kāhāmi kusalaṃ bahuṃ*.

which are (metrically) correct.⁸⁶ Pāda c exhibits a false cadence (*sovaṇṇagharāni* – – | ∪ ∪ – –). Moreover, *kāraya* (L 1550 *kāreyya*, – ∪ × or – – ×), taken by SC (L) into pāda c, gives the verse 14 syllables. Furthermore, *rūpiyassa*, now moved into first place, would have to be read as three syllables **rūpyassa* (third syllable short). The construction in all cases remains obscure. Who is the subject of *haritvā ... kāraya* / *kāreyya* and *karontulkarotu*? The only solution I can offer is Fausbøll's suggested emendation, g. 42cd: *ito haritvā suvaṇṇaṃ gharāni, rūpyassa cā* (sic) *pākāraṃ karontu*. The translation must necessarily remain uncertain.

XXVI–42 *idaṃ ca me jātārūpaṃ pahūtaṃ, rāsī suvaṇṇassa ca tālamattā |*
ito haritvā sovaṇṇagharāni, [kāraya] rūpiyassa ca pākāraṃ karontu ||

Here, this is my plentiful [unworked] gold and here a pile of [worked] gold, as high as a palm tree. [This] you may (?) take with you from here and ... build [yourself] golden houses and a wall of silver.

XXXVII–43 **muttāna ca vāhasahassāni pañca, veḷuriyamissānaṃ ito haritvā |*
*antepure bhūmiyaṃ santharantu, nikkaddamā hohiti nīrajā ca ||*⁸⁷

⁸⁶SC = E; 42a: L 1550 *imañ*; 42c: L 1550 *haretvā*, B *haritvāna suvaṇṇa*^o (thus also the cty); 42cd: SC take *kāraya* to pāda c, L 1550 *kāreyya* (taken into pāda c) ... *karotu*, B *karassu rūpiyapākāraṃ karontu*. For the correspondence of (ECS^a) *kāraya* and (B) *karassu* see von Hinüber 2001, § 415, and Oberlies 2001, p. 199.

⁸⁷43a: E B *muttā ca*, CS C^{ks} (Fausbøll) L 1550 *muttānañ ca* (*muttāna* – – ∪, gen. pl. in *-āna*); 43b: E CB S^p *veḷuriyamissāni*, S^a *missānaṃ*, L 1550 *vedurimissāni ito haretvā*; 43d: SB L 1550 *hehiti* (cf. Smith 1952, p. 179 and von Hinüber 2001, § 471). The frequently used Prakrit genitive plural in *-āna* is variously attested in Pāli too (see Oberlies 2001, p. 147). Cf. Mvu II 187.11*–14* (with emendations in pādas b (already in Charpentier 1909, p. 43) and according to Jones 1952, p. 180, notes 1f.): *muktāna te vāhaśatāni pañca, vaiḍūryamiśrāna *dadāmi rājñe | antaḥpure bhūmi *samāstarāhi, niṣkardamā *bheṣyati *nīrajā *ca ||* Senart 1890: pāda b: *dadāsi*; pāda c: *samāstarā hi* (BHS *samāstarā*, cf. *sam-ā-str* Mbh, Rāmāyaṇa, Jātakamālā (pw); *-āhi*, instr. pl., Edgerton 1953a, § 9.102; or read **samāstarehi* (instr. pl. of *samāstara*-?); pāda d: *niṣkardamā tviṣimati nīrarāja*.

Five thousand coaches of pearls mixed with beryl you are to take from here and spread them on the floor of your palace [so that] it becomes free of dirt and dust.

Silver, gold, pearls, and jewels count as the special property of snakes (cf. Ja II 296.12*–14*: *rajataṃ jātārūpaṃ ca muttā veḷuriyā bahū | te ca tena asantuṭṭhā bhiyyo-bhiyyo akhāṇiṣuṃ || te tatthāsīvisso ghorotejasī tejasā hani*)).⁸⁸

XXVIII–44 *etādisaṃ āvasa rājaseṭṭha, vimānaseṭṭhaṃ bahu sobhamānaṃ |*
*bārāṇasiṃ nagaraṃ iddhaphītaṃ, rajjañ ca kārehi anomapañña ||*⁸⁹

O best of kings, live in such a magnificent palace, which shines brightly, [and also] in the flourishing city of Vārāṇasī. Reign [there], you who are so full of wisdom.

If this reconstruction of the “original” Campeyya Jātaka is correct, then it follows that the Campeyya Jātaka of the Mahāvastu must be directly based on the Pāli version. Various Jātakas found in the Jātaka as well as in the Mahāvastu should be studied with regard to their relationship to each other in order to lend support to the conclusion reached here.⁹⁰

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⁸⁸On snakes and jewels see Gaefke 1954.

⁸⁹44c: SB *iddhaṃ phītaṃ*.

⁹⁰Different versions of the Campeyya Jātaka in Buddhist literature are analysed by Hahn 1995.

APPENDIX

Remarks on the text of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka (Fausbøll V 161–77)

- 4a: BCS *vaṇijja*, B^d L 1550 *vāṇijjam* and commentaries (*vaṇijjan ti*). *vāṇijja(m)* scans – – – (i.e. it ends with a short nasal vowel).
- 4b: Hypermetric triṣṭubh (B B^d *bhojanaputte*). Should we not read *pathe* **ddasāsim* (third syllable short) instead of *pathe addasāsim*, which is correct in the cadence of 39a? (O.v.H., Ch.W.)
- 7a: BCS L 1550 *sakaṃ niketaṃ* (– / – – –); cf. g. 47c, Ja III 349.22* and Ja IV 341.24*.
- 7c: Read with BC S^a L 1550 *māmsāni* (– – –).
- 7d: Probably **kho* is to be read instead of (ES) *vo* (Ch.W.) or eastern (BC) *ve* = Skt *vai* (cf. Lüders 1954, § 23) (O.v.H.).
- 10a: Read (with S) *tada'ssu* (B *tadā'ssu*, C *tadassu*). Cf. however, CPD s.v. *ṣassu*. On the particle (*a*)*ssu* cf. Kern 1909, p. 236, n. 2; Norman 1980, p. 165; Sakamoto-Goto 1989, pp. 96ff.; and Oberlies 2001, p. 53, n. 3.
- 10b: For the translation see Hinüber 1985, p. 61.
- 11c: Read (with S^p) *tada 'ss' ahaṃ* (B *tadā 'ss' ahaṃ*, C *tadassahaṃ*, S *tada 'ss'āhaṃ*). Thus also 27b (cf. Alsdorf 1971, p. 52 = *Kl. Sch.*, p. 409). Cf., however, CPD s.v. *ṣassu*.
- 12c: Jagatī pāda (cadence: – – – – (cf. Smith 1949, p. 1154)).
- 13a: *agamāsi* is to be read – – –, otherwise syllable three long (O.v.H.).
- 13c: BC *samotataṃ jambuhi vetasāhi*, L 1550 *samāthitaṃ jambuhi vedisāhi*, S *samonataṃ* (S^a *saṃmonataṃ*) *jambuhi vedisāhi*.
- 14d: *hadayaṅgamaṃ* (thus all mss) is to be read – – – (O.v.H.). Otherwise, all readings *hadayaṅgama-* are to be read as four syllables (cf. Ja IV 345.5* and 470.16*/20*). On the grounds of the ten-syllable śloka pāda (*sic*) *hadayaṅgaṃ hadayanissitaṃ* (Ja IV 345.5*, 420.1*), one might suspect that perhaps an old *hadayaṅgama-* (cf. Skt *hṛdga[ma]-*) had been overlaid during the course of transmission (cf. **hadanissita*, Ja III 215.3*, 390.24*, for the transmitted *hadayanissita-*).
- 15a: BCS L 1550 *pitā aḷāra* (– – –) (Fausbøll conjectures *c' aḷāra* (cf. 37a and 50c)).
- 15d: C^a S^a *āḷāra* (*sic*) *passa me nivesanaṃ*, B C^p S^p = E.
- 17a: Against all mss with CPD (s.v. *anāvakūḷā*). Note that “*u* and *ū* and *i* and *ī* can hardly be distinguished in the mss” (O.v.H.).

- 18c: All mss = E.. Hypermetric (Ch.W.). Read *rajataggalaṃ *soṇṇamayam* [**sovaṇṇam*] *ulāram*? Ja VI 203.8* (*yūpaṃ subhaṃ soṇṇamayam ulāram*) indicates the former.
- 19: All mss = E (19c: L 1550 *paripurī*, BCS *paripūrā*; 19d: B^p C S^a *sovaṇṇa*^o). What do the feminine adjectives refer to? (Fausbøll wishes to correct all to *-am*).
- 20: All mss = E (B *āruhya*). The *verbum finitum* is missing., unless the absolute functions as such.
- 20d: Read *yatth' assa bhariyā mahesī ahoṣi* with anapæstic scansion of *mahesī* (see Oberlies 2001, p. 15); cf. 23d and 26a (Ch.W.).
- 21b: Read *velurīyamayaṃ* (Ch.W.).
- 22a: All mss = E. Read *tato mam urago* (– – – [– – –]).
- 22b: L 1550 *nisīdapayī*.
- 22c: Read (with B C^p S) *atra bhavaṃ* (cf. CPD s.v. *ātra*).
- 23a: L 1550 *aññatarā ca*.
- 23d: Read (with BCS B^d L 1550) *bhariyā va* (Dutoit V 173, n. 1, already declared himself in favour of this reading (Ch.W.)).
- 24b: Read with BCS L 1550 *sovaṇṇamayāya pātiyā*; (jagatī pāda: cadence – – – –). Cf. Ja IV 18.14*: *paggayha sovaṇṇamayāya pātiyā*.
- 24c: Jagatī pāda (cadence: – – – –).
- 24d: *upanāmayī* is to be read – – – (O.v.H.). (BCS = E) *bhatta* scans – – (i.e. it ends with a short nasal vowel).
- 25a: *turīyehi* is to be read – – – (O.v.H.).
- 25c: Read (with BCS^p (and L 1550?)) *nipatī mahantaṃ* (– – –).
- 26a: *bhariyā* scans – – – (O.v.H.).
- 26b: BCSP L 1550 *attamajjhā* (cf. CPD s.v. *atthamajjha-* and Lüders 1941, p. 142, who draws attention to *aṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana sumajjhā ti pāṭho* in the commentary).
- 26c: Read with BSP L 1550 *kāmakārā* (add the entry *kāmakāra-* “fulfilling the desires” in CPD; Cone includes it, but with the wrong reading *kāmakāro* of C = E).
- 27b: *uttarī* (so Alsdorf 1971, p. 52 = *Kl. Sch.*, p. 409) seems unnecessary (Ch.W.).
- 28a: Read (with BC) *adhicca-laddhaṃ* (see also CPD s.v.). Item 29a.
- 28b: All mss = E. Fausbøll proposes reading **ādu*.
- 28c: BCS B^d L 1550 have *nāgarāje taṃ atthaṃ* which Alsdorf (1977, p. 39, n. 54 = *Kl. Sch.*, p. 799, n. 54) interprets as *nāgarājī' etam attham*. But *nāga-*

rāje may well be a vocative ending in *-e* (cf. Caillat 1970, pp. 18–19, and Oberlies 2001, p. 170).

29a: Hypermetric triṣṭubh pāda (and also 29b). L 1550 omits the second *na*.

30a: *brahmacariyaṃ* scans – ∪ – – (= *brahmacarīyaṃ*). Item 33a.

30c: Cf. 28c.

31a: Jagatī pāda ([*Maga*] *dhānam issaro* (– ∪ – ∪ –)).

Between gāthās 32 and 33 in BCSP (not in S^a) and B^ds there is an additional verse ≠ Vidhuraṇḍita Jātaka 252 = 276, where 251cd = (Saṅkhaṇḍita Jātaka) 32cd, 253ab = 33ab, 254a = 33c; cf. Alsdorf 1971, pp. 49f., 52f. (= *Kl. Sch.*, pp. 406f., 409f.):

*mālañ ca gandhañ ca vilepanañ ca | padīpiyaṃ yānam upassayañ ca |
acchādanam sayanam ath' annapānam | sakkacca dānāni adamha tattha ||*

B^d, B^s *pacipayaṃ annapānam, adamma*; B^p *acchādanam seyyam ath' annapānam, sakkacca dānāni adamma tattha*; C^p *annapānam* (pāda c is hypermetric; read *seyyam ath'* with B^p?).

34c: *appānubhāvā* (thus all mss) “on the basis of” (CPD s.v. differs).

35a: All mss *anvagataṃ* (item 36a), a transformation of an old aorist form *anugaṃ* (< *annaga[m]* < Skt *anvagāt*) into a verbal adjective (other explanation in CPD s.v. *anvagata*–: “*anugata* influenced by aor. *anvagā*”, referring to *udapatto* (on the latter cf. Hinüber 1974, pp. 69f.)).

35b: BC *nānvagaṃ*, S^p *nānvagataṃ*, S^a *anvagataṃ* (*na* is omitted), L 1550 *anugataṃ* (*na* is omitted here, too). CPD (s.v. *anu-gacchati*) proposes reading **anvagā*.

37a: BCS L 1550 *pañcadasiñ*.

39c: *siriya ca* scans ∞ – ∪.

40b: L 1550 *vāpi*.

40d: *tapo* (typographical error in E) (cf. Alsdorf 1977, p. 29, n. 20 = *Kl. Sch.*, p. 789, n. 20).

41d: Jagatī pāda (*disā pabhāsasi* – ∪ – ∪ –). Or is *pabhāsi* to be read with B^p v.l. and B^d? (Ch.W.). Cf. also Fausbøll's C^s, which has *pabhassi*, and see n. 82 above.

42c: Cf. 28c.

43b: B S^p L 1550 *suddhī vā ... saṃyamo vā*, S^a *suddhi va ... saṃyamo vā*, C *suddhi vā ... saññamo vā* (cf. Campeyya Jātaka 39a *suddhī ca ... saṃyamo ca* (vv.ll. *vā ... vā*); see n. 85 above).

43d: BC S^p L 1550 *jātimaraṇassa*, S^a *jātimaraṇassa* (cf. Campeyya Jātaka 39d).

44a: Jagatī pāda (– ∪ – ∪ –).

45b: CPD (s.v. *upaṭṭhahati*) conjectured **upaṭṭhāre*.

45c: CS L 1550 *kaccin nu te nābhisamsittha koci* (S^a *kacci*), B *kaccin nu taṃ nābhisabittha*. E ex. conj. *nābhisamsittha* (see CPD s.v. *abhisamsati*).

46b: Unmetrical *paṭivihito* should probably be emended (Ch.W.).

47b: With BCSP L 1550 *dhanāharo* (∪ – ∪ –); cf. Vidhuraṇḍita Jātaka g. 39 *maṇiṃ ... dhanāharam* (cf. Alsdorf 1971, p. 35 = *Kl. Sch.*, p. 392).

47d: BCS *ossajassu* (B^p *osajassu*); cf. CPD s.v. *ussaj(j)ati*.

49a: Jagatī pāda (– ∪ – ∪ –). B *dumapphalanīva*. Gāthās 48ab and 49 are also found at M II 74.7–12 (all mss *dumapphalāneva*) and Th 787cd and 788 (all mss *dumapphalānīva* (cf. also Norman 1969, p. 238, ad loc.)), pādas 49ab are also found at Ja IV 495.12* (where all mss also have *dumapphalān' eva*).

49b: *daharā* is to be read ∞ – ∪ (O.v.H.).

50c: S *tuvañ ca* (ECB *tavañ ca*); cf. n. 78.

FAUSBØLL'S TEXT OF THE SAṆKHAPĀLA JĀTAKA

4a vaṇijja // 4b pathe addasāsīm hi milācaputte // 7a sakam niketanaṃ // 7c maṃsaṃ bhokkhāma pamodamānā // 7d mayaṃ hi vo sattavo pannagānaṃ // 10a tad assu // 10b yaṃ natthuto paṭimokkh' assa pāse // 11c tad ass' ahaṃ // 12c dukkho hi luddehi punā samāgamo // 13a agamāsi so rahadaṃ vippasannaṃ // 13c samotataṃ jambuhi vetasāhi // 14d hadayaṅgamaṃ // 15a tvaṃ me si mātā ca pitā ca alāra // 15ef pahūtabhakkhaṃ bahu-annapānaṃ | masakkasāraṃ viya vāsavassa // 17a anāvakulā // 18c rajataggaḷaṃ sovaṇṇamayaṃ ulāraṃ // 19 maṇimayā sovaṇṇamayā ulārā | anekacittā satataṃ sunimittā | paripūra kaññāhi alaṃkatāhi | suvaṇṇakāyūradharāhi rāja // 20 so saṃkhaṇḍo taramānarūpo | pāsādam āruya anomavaṇṇo | sahassathambhaṃ atulānubhāvaṃ | yatth' assa bhariyā mahesī ahosi // 21b veḷuriyamayaṃ // 22a–c tato maṃ urago hatthe gahetvā | nisīdayī pamukhaṃ āsanasmim | idam āsanaṃ atrabhavaṃ nisīdatu // 23a aññā ca nārī taramānarūpā // 23d bhariyā ca bhattū patino piyassa // 24b–d paggayha sovaṇṇamayā pātiyā | anekasūpaṃ vividhaṃ viyañjanaṃ | upanāmayī bhatta manuññarūpaṃ // 25a turiyehi // 25c tatuttariṃ maṃ nipati mahantaṃ // 26a–c bhariyā mam' etā tisatā alāra | sabb' atthamajjhā padumuttarābhā | alāra etā su te kāmakāro // 27b tadass' ahaṃ uttariṃ paccabhāsiṃ // 28a adhicca laddhaṃ // 28b sayamkataṃ udāhu devehi dinnaṃ // 28c nāgarāja tam atthaṃ //

29ab nādhicca laddhaṃ na pariṇāmajam me | na sayamkataṃ na pi devehi dinnam // **30a** brahmacariyaṃ // **30c, 42c** nāgarāje tam atthaṃ // **31a** rājā ahosiṃ magadhānam issaro // **33-34** tam me vataṃ tam pana brahmacariyaṃ | tassa suciṇṇassa ayaṃ vipāko | ten' eva me laddham idaṃ vimānaṃ | pahūta-bhakkhaṃ bahu-annapānaṃ || naccehi gīthehi upetarūpaṃ | ciraṭṭhitikaṃ na ca sassat' āyaṃ | appānubhāvā taṃ mahānubhāvaṃ | tejassinaṃ hanti atejavanto | kim eva dāṭhāvudha kiṃ paṭicca | hatthattham āgañchi vanibbakānaṃ // **35ab** bhayan nu te anvagataṃ mahantaṃ | tejo nu te nānvagaṃ dantamūlaṃ // **36a** na me bhayaṃ anvagataṃ mahantaṃ // **37a** pannarasiñ c' alāra // **40b** na āyuno cāpi alāra hetu // **40d** tato // **41d** gandhabbarājā va disā pabhāsasi // **43b** suddhī ca saṃvijjati saññamo vā // **43d** kāhāmi jātīmaraṇassa antaṃ // **44a** saṃvaccharo me vusito tav' antike // **45b** niccānusiṭṭhā upatiṭṭhate taṃ // **45c** kaccin nu te nābhisamṣittha koci // **46b** putto piyo paṭivihito va seyyo // **47b** dhanāhāro maṇiratanam uḷāraṃ // **47d** laddhā dhanam taṃ maṇim ussajassu // **49a** dhumapphalān' eva patanti mānavā // **49b** daharā ca vuddhā ca sarīrabhedā // **50c** nāgañ ca sutvāna tavañ c' alāra //

ABBREVIATIONS

Editions and manuscripts:

B ^p	Burmese ed. of the Pāli, Chaṭṭhasaṅgītipiṭakam (1960)
B ^s	Burmese ed. of the Atthavaṇṇanā, Chaṭṭhasaṅgītipiṭakam (1960)
B	= B ^p + B ^s
B ^d , B ^s	Burmese mss in Fausbøll ed.
C ^p	Sinhalese ed. of the Pāli, Simon Hewavitarne Bequest (1937)
C ^a	Sinhalese ed. of the Atthavaṇṇanā, Simon Hewavitarne Bequest (1955)
C	= C ^p + C ^a
E	European edition (Fausbøll)
Fausbøll	= E
L 1471	a manuscript of the Campeyya Jātaka written in Northern Thai from Vat Lai Hin, Amphoe Ko Kha near Lampang, written in the year C.S. 833 = A.D. 1471
L 1550	a manuscript of the Saṅkhaṇḍa Jātaka written in Northern Thai from Vat Srī Ur Mein in Dā Soy (Thā Soi), now in the Vat Lai Hin, written in C.S. 912 = A.D. 1550, in the year of the dog (<i>pī kaḍ seṣ</i>). ⁹¹
S ^p	Siamese ed. of the Pāli, Syāmaratṭhassa Tepiṭakam (1926)
S ^a	Siamese ed. of the Atthavaṇṇanā, Syāmaratṭhassa Tepiṭakam (1927)
S	S ^p + S ^a
Vv	Vimānavatthu, PTS ed.

Other abbreviations:

Ch.W.	suggestions by Prof. Dr Chlodwig H. Werba
Cone	Margaret Cone, <i>A Dictionary of Pāli</i> , Part 1.
CPD	<i>A Critical Pāli Dictionary</i>
cty	commentary
g(g).	gāthā(s)
jag.	jagatī
Kl. Sch.	<i>Kleine Schriften</i> , J.v. Glasenapp-stiftung
O.v.H.	suggestions by Prof. Dr. Oskar von Hinüber
PED	<i>The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary</i>
tr.	triṣṭubh

⁹¹I am grateful to Prof. von Hinüber for this reference (see also Hinüber 1988, p. 14 with n. 48 (on the allocation of sigla)).

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The Colophons of Burmese Manuscripts

1. Looking through editions of the texts of Buddhist scriptures in Pāli and through catalogues of manuscripts from Theravāda Buddhist countries, it appears that, as a rule, the final remarks in Burmese manuscripts are not mentioned. They are not found in descriptions of manuscripts given in editions of the texts or included in the entries for a codex in catalogues of manuscripts. This can be ascribed both to the editors' and revisers' insufficient knowledge of the Burmese language and to their reluctance to invest too much time and effort in the elucidation of passages forming no part of the text at the end of manuscripts along with final remarks which can be understood as colophons in the stricter sense. Usually, there is merely a note of the formal data, and the title and date of completion of writing.

The three volumes of the catalogue *Burmese Manuscripts*¹ contain detailed descriptions of manuscripts in German libraries. Thanks to the ruling that the beginning and end of manuscripts are to be reproduced in

First published in German in *Untersuchungen zur buddhistischen Literatur*, Zweite Folge, Heinz Bechert, Sven Bretfeld, Petra Kieffer-Pülz, eds. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 8. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), pp. 35–39. Translated by Marianne Rankin.

¹*Burmese Manuscripts* (*Bur. MSS*), Part I, compiled by Heinz Bechert, Daw Tin Tin Myint, Daw Khin Khin Su (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979); Part II, Catalogue numbers 156–431, compiled by Heinz Braun, Daw Tin Tin Myint, with an introduction by Heinz Bechert (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1985); Part III, Catalogue numbers 432–735, Heinz Braun, compiler, assisted by Anne Peters; Heinz Bechert, ed. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996). This essay is based entirely on the material in these volumes of this catalogue of manuscripts. The reader is therefore requested to consult the introduction to Part I for further information. As regards the abbreviations used here, see the List of Abbreviations in Part 3. [Since this article appeared, Part IV, Catalogue numbers 736–900, has been published: Anne Peters, compiler; Heinz Bechert, ed. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000).]